

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 303327

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DRAFTED BY P:JJSISCO/AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR.

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

S/S-O:LMATTESON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E9O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, EG

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: MESSAGE FOR FAHMY

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. REQAEST YOU SEE FAHMY WITH A VIEW TO HAVING HIM CONVEY THE FOLLOWING TO PRESIDENT SADAT REGARDING ANGOLA. THE SECRETARY HAS DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH SADAT WHO PROMISED SUPPORT FOR MOBUTU.

2. THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED YOU TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH OUR EGYPTIAN FRIENDS AND TO HAVE REGULAR AND FULL EXCHANGES WITH THEM REGARDING ANGOLA. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THEY UNDERSTAND WHAT WE BELIEVE IS INVOLVED THERE AND WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO, LEAVING IT UP TO THEM ENTIRELY AS TO HOW THEY FEEL THEY CAN BE MOST HELPFUL.

3. AS FAHMY KNOWS, WE HAD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER UNTIL THE MASSIVE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA LAST MARCH. WE WERE QUITE SATISFIED WITH THE ALVOR AGREEMENT WHICH WAS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 303327

SIGNED IN JANUARY AND WHICH PROVIDED THAT THE THREE

FACTIONS IN ANGOLA WORK OUT THEIR OWN PROBLEMS PEACEFULLY IN A COALITION GOVERNMENT. WE DO NOT CLAIM ANY VITAL INTEREST IN ANGOLA PER SE BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS SOVIET POWER PLAY TO ESTABLISH A TOE-HOLD IN THE THIS HAS RELEVANCE NOT ONLY IN AFRICA BUT ELSEVE ; - WORLD AND PARTICULARLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

4. WHILE THE RECENT SENATE VOTE REPRESENTS A PSYCHOLOGICAL SETBACK, AND WAS REGRETTABLE, THE HOUSE HAS SUSPENDED WITHOUT TAKING ACTION AND THE CONGRESS WILL NOT BE RETURNING UNTIL THE LATTER PART OF JANUARY. IN THE MEAN-TIME, WE HAVE SUFFICIENT RESOURCES POTENTIALLY AND IN THE PIPELINE TO PROVIDE SUFFICIENT HELP AND ASSISTANCE TO MAINTAIN A MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA TO THWART SOVIET PURPOSES AND TO ASSURE THE FUNDAMENTAL UNDERPINNINGS OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WE ALSO WANT FAHMY AND SADAT TO KNOW VERY CONFIDENTIALLY THAT WE ARE TALKING VERY STERNLY TO THE SOVIETS ON THIS MATTER AND WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WARNINGS HAVE NOT GONE UNHEEDED.

5. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE BELIEVE AN OAU INITIATIVE AND CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF A CEASEFIRE, THE STOPPAGE OF OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE, THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION, AND AN OAU MECHANISM TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE THREE ANGOLAN FACTIONS LOOKING TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OFFERS REAL AND PRACTICAL HOPE IN THE COMING FEW WEEKS. IF, AFTER THE CONGRESS RETURNS, THERE IS STILL NEED FOR ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES, WE INTEND TO MAKE A FURTHER MAJOR EFFORT TO THAT END.

6. WE ARE TALKING TO A NUMBER OF AFRICAN LEADERS ALONG THE ABOVE LINES. WE BELIEVE THAT A CONSENSUS AMONG AFRICAN NATIONS WHICH SHARE THIS VIEW WILL HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA AS WELL AS GO A LONG WAY IN BRINGING ABOUT AN END TO ALL OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. WE UNDERSTAND FULLY THE DEEP FEELINGS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION WHICH HOWEVER IS A PRACTICAL NECESSITY IN VIEW OF THE HEAVY CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. WE FAVOR THE ENDING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 303327

OF ALL OUTSIDE INTERVENTION AND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WE ARE NOT AGAINST THE MPLA PER SE. WE WANT THE THREE FACTIONS TO WORK OUT THE SOLUTION PEACEFULLY UNDER THE AEGISF THE OAU.

7. WE STRONGLY URGE GOE TO USE ITS INFLUENCE, BEFORE THE OAU MEETING, TO PREVENT FURTHER AFRICAN RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA WHICH WILL MAKE IT EVEN MORE UNWILLING TO

NEGOTIATE AND FURTHER POSTPONE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. IN ADDITION WE EXPECT THAT GOE WILL WORK WITH OTHERS TO REALIZE THE KIND OF OAU ACTION WE HAVE OUTLINED ABOVE AND WHICH HOLDS THE BEST PROMISE FOR A SETTLEMENT IN THE

AFRICAN INTEREST. BETTER THAN ANY OTHER NATION GOE, ON THE BASIS OF ITS OWN EXPERIENCE, CAN PROBABLY DESCRIBE THE INHERENT DANGER OF THE SOVIET INTERVENTION AND WHAT IT COULD MEAN FOR THE FUTURE.

8. TELL FAHMY THAT THE SECRETARY HAS CONVEYED THE ABOVE THOUGHTS TO HIM AND TO PRESIDENT SADAT TO MAKE SURE THAT GOE UNDERSTANDS OUR VIEWS. ANOTHER REASON IS THAT WE WOULD WELCOME ANY SUGGESTION WHICH EITHER FAHMY OR SADAT MIGHT HAVE WHICH WOULD HELP MOVE MATTERS ALONG THE LINES INDICATED ABOVE. KISSINGER

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